A TAILORED MENU OF DRUGS: THE ADVERTISEMENT AND SALE OF DRUGS ON TIKTOK

A NETNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE SWEDISH DRUG DEALING MARKET ON A SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORM

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A TAILORED MENU OF DRUGS: THE ADVERTISEMENT AND SALE OF DRUGS ON TIKTOK

A NETNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF AN EMERGING DRUG DEALING MARKET ON THE SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORM

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TikTok, a social media platform which has grown to be one of the most popular communities globally to create and share short videos and live streams with millions of viewers everyday has recently become a new way of promoting the sale and distribution of illegal drugs. Drug dealing on TikTok has recently caught the attention of the Swedish news media, since Swedish Police Officers have reported observing increasingly more drug advertisements flourish in the comment sections with various code words for drugs, such as snow emojis symbolizing cocaine (Dagens Nyheter, 2021; Aftonbladet, 2021). This trend is an urgent issue; not only because of the increasingly strategic marketing strategies targeting young users on the platform with readily available menus of illegal drugs in supply available 24/7, but considering the thousands of minors who may be influenced by the increasingly more approachable promotions and readily available distribution offers; and the consequences of young people's health and well-being that follows. By exploring the settings of TikTok through a netnographic method, this study aims to identify the marketing and sale of drugs on TikTok and account for characteristics surrounding the drug dealing activity.

Keywords: netnography, cyber-environment, drug promotion, sale of drugs, algorithms, social media platforms, drug dealing activity

ABSTRACT

PURPOSE - The issue of drug markets on social media platforms are under-researched. To help address the research gap, this paper accounts for the emerging drug dealing trends surrounding the community on TikTok. The purpose of this paper is to understand how drug dealers use a trending social media platform, namely TikTok, to advertise and sell illegal drugs and how the environment on TikTok facilitates drug promotions on the platform.

METHOD - Data were gathered during seven weeks of netnographic fieldwork conducted among Swedish accounts on TikTok marketing drugs through video- and image posts. All evidence of content in which drug marketing was evident, including drug dealer profiles and open interactions of drug dealers and customers in the comment sections, was saved, coded and analyzed. The concepts of routine activity theory were applied and discussed in relation to the prevalence of the drug markets on TikTok.

FINDINGS - In total, 116 posts with content of advertisements of illegal drugs were identified, divided into 43 Sweden-based profiles. Some drug dealer profiles were more professional than others and offered various drug types and services. Drug dealers adopted several marketing strategies, facilitated by the functions and algorithms of TikTok, to promote their drug dealing profiles and promotions.

KEYWORDS - netnography, cyber-environment, drug promotion, sale of drugs, algorithms, social media platforms, drug dealing activity.

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1. INTRODUCTION

When Khey et al. (2014) diminished the panic related to the potential of drug dealers utilizing the Internet and particularly social media platforms as vendors for drug promotions and facilitator of related curiosity (Khey et al., 2014:43), the authors misjudged the rapid speed of development and changes in the drug market industries that contributed to the emergence of new drug dealing markets taking place over various social media platforms. Nevertheless, the illicit drug market scholarship has until recently, to a large extent focused their attention to the sale of illicit drugs through dark web cryptomarkets, which are distinguished by requiring a specialized anonymising browser such as a Tor browser, in order to get access to the products. For instance, Grimani et al. (2020) did a comprehensive systematic review including 33 qualitative studies focusing on the procurement and supply of illicit drugs related to dark net cryptomarkets (Grimani et al., 2020:1). Research on illicit drug markets has long centered around the presence on dark net cryptomarkets, even though only a few drug market actors are reporting to utilize this method when buying and selling drugs, due to the challenges with accessibility and navigation of products (Childs et al., 2022:403). As a result, drug actors are all the more dependent upon online platforms for drug exchanges.

Constantly changing drug trends have recently led researchers to shift their attention towards drug markets functioning over the surface web. A possible explanation related to this transformation is that there are greater ambitions in reducing the visibility of drug sales, while also facilitating flexible exchange arrangements that are less vulnerable to the exposure to, or engagement with the police. Alongside this, drug dealers strive to introduce convenient methods of drug exchanges to customers by adapting their current supply models (Childs et al., 2022:403).

Consequently, various social media platforms are increasingly admitted as facilitating the process of illegal drug transactions (van der Sanden et al., 2021). Reported platforms include Facebook, Instagram and Snapchat (Demant et al., 2019), Twitter (Bachhuber & Merchant, 2017), Tumblr and YouTube (McCulloch & Furlong, 2019), online dating services (Oksanen et al., 2021), general discussion forums such as Flashback (Moeller et al., 2021), Kik, Telegram, Dating apps (Tinder/Grindr), WhatsApp (Moyle et al., 2019) and Discord (van der Sanden et al., 2021). This study provides evidence of a drug dealing market on TikTok, a platform not yet discovered by researchers.

1.1 Aim

Social media is becoming an increasingly popular method of reaching out to large crowds for drug deals, according to a new study (Demant et al., 2019:382). Recently, the social media platform TikTok has become increasingly popular and drug dealers have started to exploit the large scale of people who use the app, in an attempt to reach a wider audience resulting in TikTok becoming a popular venue for drug dealers to advertise their illicit drug supply. The aim of the present study is to account for the prevalence in regard to the drug dealing environment on a trending social media platform, namely TikTok, while contributing with knowledge on the way drug dealers exploit the functions and algorithms of TikTok to facilitate their drug sale While addressing a research gap in the illicit drug market scholarship, my intention is also to acknowledge the characteristics of drug dealers and their drug promotions on the platform. Based on the purpose, the following questions have been posed:

i. How does drug dealers market and advertise their disposal and sale of drugs on TikTok?
ii. How does the environment on TikTok facilitate drug dealing activity?
iii. What characteristics and commonalities are identified among drug dealer profiles and drug promotions?

2. BACKGROUND

2.1 Community Guidelines of TikTok

To encourage a warm community, TikTok works to ensure to not enable activities that violate laws and regulations which are formulated in the Community Guidelines. These guidelines state rules which are intended to create a safe and welcoming environment for everyone.
In the Guidelines, TikTok clarifies that all trading, sale, promotion and facilitating of criminal activity is prohibited and may be deleted (TikTok Community Guidelines). Among all of these regulations, TikTok is also prohibiting all sale, depiction, promotion and trade of drugs, controlled substances, alcohol and tobacco. These rules state that it is not permitted to publish, upload, stream or share content that depicts or promotes drugs, drug consumption or encourages others to manufacture, use or trade drugs or other controlled substances, content that offers the purchase, sale, trade or offer of drugs or other controlled substances and

alcohol or tobacco products, content with information on how to buy illegal and controlled substances and content that depicts or promotes the abuse of legal substances or instructions on how to make homemade substances for the purpose of intoxication.

To prevent such content from reaching the users on the platform, TikTok may remove content that promotes or enables criminal activity as it is regulated by the guidelines to ensure a safe community. This mission is significantly important considering the great responsibility to make the platform a safe place for youth and minors (TikTok Community Guidelines). For this reason, TikTok strives to cooperate with law enforcement agencies to the extent they are allowed to, while dealing with internal policies and procedures of the platform which regulates questions of the privacy, integrity and rights of users (TikTok Law Enforcement Guidelines).

2.2 The Underground Language of Drugs

During a period of time, drug dealers have successfully developed an "underground" language referring to various drug related words and expressions including specific drugs, in an attempt to mask their criminal activities, so that the unrelated surroundings and specifically law enforcement won't identify the information. In online settings, this language, often involving slang words, functions as a way to circumvent traditional search engines and reduce the risk of exposure by algorithms. The Swedish Police Authority have successfully identified some of the most commonly used slang words along with the way drugs are symbolized through emojis (The Swedish Police Authority). In order to generate a deeper understanding of the drug environment on TikTok, I have summarized the most relevant emojis connected to drug types and included some which were missing.

Cannabis - Weed, "Dunder", "Mary Jane", "Indian Blue Cheese", Pollen, 🍃, 🍀, 🍁 or 🥦
Hash - Brown, "Zutt", Blaze, "Gås" (Goose), 🍫
Amfetamin - Speed, "Tjack", "Sho", Ice, 🧊
Cocaine - "Ladd", "Kola", Powder, Snow, ❄️, ☃️, 💎 or 🎱
LSD - "Lucy", "Lappar", "Trippa"
Ecstasy/MDMA - XTC, "Eva", "Erik"
MDMA/Ecstasy - "Molly", "Nappar", Happy, 🍬 or ⚡
Subutex - "Ship", "Fjärdis", "Sub", "Åtta", 🚢

Tramadol - “Lena”, “Tram”, 💊

Xanor - “Stavar”, “Pix”, “Blueberries”, 🫐, 💊 or 🚐

Benzo (Bensodiazepiner) - “Habbar”, Bitches, “Flödder”

Heroin - “Horse”, Jonk, Dop, “Fruit”, Black Tar (Smoke Heroin), Smack (White Heroin), 🐎, 🎯 or 💉

Cough syrup - 🍼, 🍇, 🔮

Drug dealer - “Kran” (Tap), “Plug”, 🔌

3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

There is an increasing recognition that social media platforms facilitate drug dealing, despite this, the academic scholarship investigating this phenomena is still in its infancy. This was not coming as a surprise, since the use of the Internet and other technology is constantly changing the drug market, as well as by *dimension*, *dynamics* and by *characteristics* of the cyber-environment in which the marketing and transactions take place. To be fully in control and up-to-date in research of the various channels and platforms of the current drug dealing environment is not possible, since the market is constantly emerging in new areas and adapting to the cultural contexts which drug actors are ambitiously trying to master.

3.1 Social Media Drug Markets in the Nordic Countries

Demant et al., (2019) was the first to conduct a comprehensive examination of the drug dealing environments surrounding the social media platforms Facebook, Snapchat and Instagram. The researchers used online ethnography and semi structured interviews to gather qualitative data about the presence of social media drug dealing in the Nordic countries; Denmark, Sweden, Iceland and Norway (Demant et al., 2019:379). There were only a few drug dealers offering mail-shipping, the majority of the drug dealers relied on face-to-face transactions and the meetings were usually arranged through one-on-one communication platforms such as Messenger, Telegram, Wickr or by phone (Demant et al., 2019:380). Compared to Denmark, Sweden has a more organized way of drug dealing, including names of the brands and rating systems marking sellers as “green” or “red” (Demant et al., 2019:381). Additionally, researchers found that most of the groups on Facebook offered more than one drug type, such as cannabis, cocaine and amphetamine (Demant et al., 2019:381,

Demant et al., 2020:36). Another distinguished feature of Sweden's social media drug sale was the greater proportion of female drug selling profiles compared to the rest of the Nordic countries. (Demant et al., 2019:381).

The second most popular social media platform in Sweden is Instagram. Drug dealers on Instagram typically have closed accounts with drug-related profile names and with short promotions of their drug disposal in their description. Even though most of the accounts didn't post pictures with relevant hashtags to promote their drug supply, the profiles were easily found through drug-related searching words (Demant et al., 2019:381). Although Nordic countries have similar societies, the drug legislation significantly differs in each. Demant et al. (2019) argues that the results indicate that each country has different ways of buying, advertising and selling illegal drugs, which may be explained through differences in legal and sociocultural structures (Demant et al., 2019:384).

3.2 Motivations and Risk Factors

Van der Sanden et al., (2021) identified predictors of the use of social media to purchase cannabis, methamphetamine, LSD and ecstasy/MDMA in New Zealand. Among the sample of respondents completing the survey, 51 percent reported that they had purchased cannabis, methamphetamine, ecstasy, MDMA, or LSD in the past six months, of which 22 percent had done so on social media platforms. Those who had purchased drugs from social media in the last half year were initially asked to identify which social media platforms they had used. Included as alternatives in the list were apps such as Facebook, Snapchat, Instagram, Whatsapp, Wickr, Kik, Telegram, dating apps such as Tinder/Grindr, Discord and "other" (van der Sanden et al., 2021:3).

A majority of the respondents reasoned of the "high convenience", followed by the advantages in "fast transaction speed" as the main reasons for using social media to access illegal drugs. In addition, using logistic regression models, the researchers found that social media purchase for all drugs was significantly influenced by younger age (van der Sanden et al., 2021:1). Moyle et al. (2019) combined data from an international survey along with interviews to examine the way social media and messaging applications are utilized for drug exchanges. Findings indicated that drug actors' propensity to continue using a specific platform was dependent on their individual preferences, such as the convenience, visual

appeal and perceived security. Another commonly reported advantage is related to the ability to connect with drug actors in nearby locations, which was seen as a difficulty for buyers previously using darknet cryptomarkets to source drugs (Moyle et al., 2019:105; van der Sanden et al., 2022:4).

The second most commonly reported advantage was the speed at which drugs can be obtained. Another appreciated feature of using social media platforms was the range of substances available for sale, including drugs such as mushrooms, LSD and prescription pills (Moyle et al., 2019:106). Following the availability, respondents reported that the ability to view images and videos of the products, provided the customer the opportunity to assess drug quality and safety in a more convenient manner through social media drug markets, since drug dealers' willingness to provide visual evidence of quality to customers was perceived as more genuine compared to other drug dealing markets (Moyle et al., 2019:107). In contrast, the most worrying aspect of purchasing drugs through social media was the greater risk of leaving digital traces in conjunction with a transaction following the increased risk of exposure to law enforcement (Moyle et al., 2019:108).

Delvin in more detail, Oksanen et al. (2021) examined risk factors associated with buying drugs online and found that buying drugs online was associated with lower self-control, higher psychological distress, excessive gambling behavior and excessive Internet use. Moreover, having close relationships with offline friends acted as a protective factor against this behavior. In addition, findings also indicated that buying drugs online mediated the relationship between low self-control and use of drugs (Oksanen et al., 2021:29).

3.3 Trust, Risky Behaviors and Levels of Professionalism

A crucial part of today's illicit drug markets is making allowances for trust in the relationship between the drug dealer and the buyer (Bakken, 2021; Tzanetakis et al., 2016; Søgaard et al., 2019; Bakken & Demant, 2019). Since most communication on the new era of social media drug markets is pervasively based on text messages with unknown actors, one must establish oneself as trustworthy and meet the needs of potential buyers. In conjunction with such a commitment, the drug dealer will most often face the challenge of obtaining needed attention and avoiding potential risks by deliberating the signals or attributes of their sale (Bakken, 2021:51).

Bakken (2021) identified three different types of drug dealers during her netnographic observations: the professional dealer, the private dealer and the cultural dealer; each signaling trust in separate ways through their choice of pictures, text and personal information (Bakken, 2021:51). Bakken (2021) argues that risky behaviors (most evident with professional dealers models) may be a deliberate strategy as presenting oneself as an honest drug dealer was highly associated with gaining trust by strangers. Although these acts of risk-taking might significantly endanger the drug dealers business, the drug dealers "seemed to solve the so-called advertising problem" related to illegal drug markets (Bakken, 2021:60). Signaling honesty and trustworthiness might involve the drug dealer being open to answering various drug-related questions in personal messages, such as in regard to delivery options or quality of the product (Bakken, 2021:60).

In addition, some drug dealers could also gain trust by simply creating a genuine-looking profile, including well-done bibliographies or descriptions of drugs and services provided in conjunction with a drug exchange. According to Bakken, those profiles that seemed to have invested the most time in creating might be those drug dealers who are the most experienced with drug dealing, which could lead to customers feeling more engaged and secure when initiating contact, as well as the feelings connected to the drug dealer completing the deal (Bakken, 2021:61). Professional drug dealers would often market their products with promises of customer service, drug quality (often displaying pictures) and speed of delivery to signal their level of drug dealing standard, which may be expected by the customer in connection with the drug exchange (Bakken, 2021:51). These ways of marketing may be more effective when targeting customers and reaching new distinct user populations, however it will consequently lead to a heightened risk of law enforcement detection and being caught by social media algorithms ready to close down the accounts.

4. DATA AND METHODS

4.1 Netnography

The present study is based on a qualitative approach, in which netnographic fieldwork was used as an analytical tool. Ethnographic observations were chosen based on the premise that the data collection for this research aim consists of material which is obtained through the use

of the Internet and so called computer-mediated communication (CMC). While netnography uses the same principles as ethnographic research, it is distinguished by the fact that it takes place in an online-based environment (Hine, 2015:2).

Netnography (synonymous with online ethnography, webnograpgy and virtual ethnography) is a method that has been developed by Kozinets (2002, 2010) and is advantageously used when it comes to research on online collectives. Its approach is largely based on engaging in an online environment by observing it (Bryman, 2018:544). To many, the Internet is considered a "planless" space, meaning that it is both everywhere and nowhere. However, Hine (2000) imagined the Internet in fact as located in cyberspace. Hine's reasoning came to function as a guiding tool in the rise of online ethnography, as it contributed with knowledge to the way ethnographers could transfer their experiences to various cyber environments and comprehend the concepts of time and space (Bryman, 2018:541). Furthermore, the more the internet becomes a part of people's lives, the more the practice of conventional ethnography (not online ethnography) will have to take into account the individual's engagement with the Internet (Bryman, 2018:541).

Netnography is a method which is advantageously used when one intends to explore phenomena on the Internet and gain in-depth understanding of various forms of computer-mediated communication (Hine, 2015:5; Hine, 2019:29). Researchers highlight the advantages of using netnography, arguing that it is less expensive than traditional ethnography while also providing in-depth knowledge of symbolism, meanings and behaviors of online communities (Kozinets, 2002:61). Netnography as a means of examining the Internet enables us to comprehend how people interact with various technologies and through these constitute the online world which enables the rise of new daily *routine activities*. The decision to use netnography as a method to investigate the presence and characteristics of illegal drug markets is based on the notion that it is a useful approach to gain a deeper understanding of the emerging drug market trend on TikTok.

Further arguments for this deal with the advantages of becoming immersed in a criminal setting and understanding of the sense which people make of their various forms of engagement with social media platforms. The real world rarely allows us to observe or witness drug dealers providing drugs to customers. Such drug dealing activity often takes place in the hidden, in an alley, at dark street corners and parks, and in those cases where it

happens openly in daylight settings, it is usually extremely innocent and discreet. Netnography as a method allows us to experience the settings of drug dealing in online contexts and broaden our understanding of how drug actors interact with each other in drug dealing environments, and how they utilize social media platforms to promote and organize drug transactions.

The dataset consists of short videos and online interactions from the social media platform TikTok. These posts will constitute my basis for the further analysis of the characteristics of the cyber-environment of TikTok in which drug dealing takes place. Beside this commitment, the analysis of which is obtained through ethnographic observation, will also include data regarding how TikTok facilitates the distribution of drugs. In order to succeed with this, I have carefully documented my observations during the period of the data collection by taking notes, screenshots and quotations along with saved content where identified illicit drug dealing is present. Referring to the aim, which is to explore the environment of the drug marketing and distribution of drugs on TikTok through online ethnographic fieldwork, I have concluded that the most beneficial way to get in touch with such data is by observing drug dealer profiles along with content where drug dealing or drug advertisements are evident.

4.2 Data Collection

The present study deals with visual data which was collected through nethnography. The data based on netnographic fieldwork was collected from April 1 to May 17th of 2023. With few deviations from the predetermined schedule (influenced by ethical considerations regarding this research), this study has virtually adhered to a pre-planned timeline and objectives, beyond a limited time and space. Previous research was obtained via specific search words, spelled; “illicit drug markets”, “cybercrime”, “social media platforms”, “online ethnography”, “drug markets online” and through recommendations of my supervisor. The findings from the search were then categorized and included based on common themes and concepts.

Bryman (2018) presents four approaches for researchers to deal with online collectives through nethnographic observations, with regard to the researcher's participation. While the first two roles does include the researcher participating, the following two are sometimes not even considered as netnography, since the researcher takes a position as an external observer,

resulting in the fieldwork being considered “stealthy” (Bryman, 2018:545). The process of data collection in this current study was restricted by maintaining my anonymity, meaning that any interaction with suspected drug dealers was not allowed. Drawing on these approaches; as my only permitted ways to make myself and my participation visible was to follow drug dealers' accounts and interact with their posts with likes; I suggest that my level of engagement is somewhere between the latter two.

According to Hine (2015), some forms of participation are necessary, but depending on the circumstances, sometimes it is not possible to sustain mutual visibility with participants, in those cases, ethnographers may be required to lurk (Hine, 2015:57). Considering the vulnerability of the sample, it was significantly important that my presence as an ethnographer was as invisible as possible. By taking a “stealth” role, I was able to lurk quite unnoticed. During the data collection process, drug-related keywords were initially used to narrow down the flow of information on TikTok. In the process of finding the environment where drug dealing is evident, search words were used related to drug dealing and languages of drug actors.

Since TikTok reviews, through search engines, cleans content that is against the Community Guidelines of TikTok, it was reasonable to assume that common drug-related terms such as “weed for sale” and “hasch for sale” are banned. However, after conducting initial drug related searches, it didn’t take long until content of drug dealing activity appeared, which enhanced the curiosity of the extent to which drug exchanges took place in the open. To establish the nature of the drug dealing spaces on TikTok, the data collection process required extensive notes and documentation of elements surrounding the experiences of my fieldwork. Documentation of this kind was done through screenshots, savings on TikTok and to my personal smartphone (in case the content would later disappear) and was later transcribed and included in the analysis based on the public intention to sell, purchase or market illegal drugs. All screenshots were stored in a separate and secured map on my personal smartphone, which then was transferred to my computer. Notes of my experience during the time of observation were obtained to maintain an active interpretation and to prevent slipping into a passive form of presence (Hine, 2015:74). was later transcribed and included in the analysis based on the public intention to sell, purchase or market illegal drugs.

4.3 Sample

Considering the purpose of this study is to explore the prevalence of drug dealing activity on the social media platform TikTok, the criteria for sample selection were designed accordingly. Drawing on the aim, the sample was obtained through a purposive sampling method, with two guiding principles, all evidence of: (1) drug dealer actors and (2) content involving drug promotions or drug related requests, shall be considered in the analysis. Based on these principles, all evidence that there are ongoing attempts to promote or obtain illegal drugs in Sweden was included, coded and analyzed. The sample selection process was dependent on the scale of evidence-based drug dealing activity, and the collection progressed until it was saturated, meaning that the content showed no further evidence of changes or value to the analysis. However, the sample was dependent on how well I was able to navigate through the terrain of slang and code words and through the limited time the content was available to find, before it was detected and deleted.

4.4 Data Analysis

The data collection resulted in approximately 200 screenshots of evidence-based drug dealing activity on TikTok. Two different frameworks intended to guide the analysis of data were deployed. The initial process of data analysis already took place along the way of data collection. A clear interplay between the collection and analysis of data enabled me to construct initial concepts already in the beginning of the observations, generated through an inductive analysis strategy (Bryman, 2018:685). In order to gain deeper knowledge on drug dealing markets on social media platforms, these concepts were later related to a more deductive analysis strategy (Bryman, 2018:49), where literature formed further results and generated concepts (such as categorizing different drug dealer personas based on their level of professionalism) which were found common in previous research in the illicit drug market scholarship.

4.5 Ethical Considerations

Conducting research using social media platforms places new demands on ethical awareness. During the implementation of this research, a great concern was devoted to the ethical guidelines associated with research within the department of Criminology at Malmö University. In light of the sensitivity of the study, it was essential to treat the material with respect to research ethics principles of the Ethics Research Council, which are the taking into

account the information requirement, the consent requirement, the confidentiality requirement and the utilization requirement (The Ethics Research CODEX, 1998). The line between public and private is fluid and even more complicated than in reality, and it could be challenging to identify signals of authorization to a cyber environment (Mallén, 2017:89). TikTok is a platform that is considered made public, however, that does not necessarily mean that the virtual space in which drug actors participate is publicly uploaded. In order to make a deliberate decision of consent, I defined the settings of the environment in relation to its availability online, characteristics connected to each setting (drug promotion), my choice of methodology during the data collection and however data could be affected or deleted with my presence (Mallén, 2017:91).

Prior to conducting this study, it was subjected to a review of the Ethics Council in order to establish and ensure that the work is conducted under ethically correct and safe forms. For research projects in which the research group is vulnerable (as with criminals), it is all the more crucial to maintain and achieve good research ethics (Liamputtong, 2007:3, Mallén, 2017:94). In addition, protecting the anonymity of the participants in ethnographic studies is all the more crucial when no question of consent has been asked (Sandberg & Copes, 2013:188). In great consideration of research ethics principles, the fieldwork where observations took place were strictly limited to only include the content of the drug dealing activity, which means that personal information was not retained during the documentations. No personal information was requested from any drug dealing actor on TikTok, nor any information that could lead to the identification of the person behind the account was obtained. The study was approved (with conditions) by the Academic Ethics Committee of Malmö University in March 2023. These conditions along with opinions are stated in the appendix 1.

5. THEORY

5.1 Routine Activity Theory

Routine Activity Theory (RAT) developed by Cohen and Felson (1979) emphasizes that crime occurs when three elements converge: (1) a motivated offender, (2) a suitable target, and (3) the absence of a capable guardian (Clarke & Felson, 1998:4). RAT is an opportunity

theory that emphasizes the role of spatial components of crime patterns (Felson & Clarke, 1998:1). The causal order of RAT suggests that aggregate changes in opportunity structures combined with a lack of capable guardianship lead to increasing convergence between suitable targets and motivated offenders in time and space (Liebling et al., 2017:500).

According to the original formulation of RAT, the theory only applies to crimes involving an offender and a victim meeting in person, but in recent years, electronic devices such as smartphones, tablets, and consumer electronics have led to researchers extending the theory to explain crimes in which neither victim nor offender has met (Brisman, 2018:537). Since the development of various technologies took off, researchers have started to apply the theory to studies exploring beyond direct-contact crimes such as, drug dealing on darknet cryptomarkets (Barratt & Aldridge 2020) and digital drug markets (Ladegaard, 2019).

Nevertheless, RAT has a significant explanatory value for drug dealing online given that it succeeds in explaining the prevalence of the drug dealing activity despite the original emphasizing of the theory is the encounter in physical space of offenders and suitable targets. The application of RAT on cybercrime provides great insights into the drug dealing market on TikTok since its “analytical scheme permits relatively straightforward application across a range of scenarios” and “offers clear cues for policy and crime prevention” (Leukfeldt & Yar, 2016:263). For these reasons, the elements of RAT are further regarded as an analytical tool for exploring and understanding the prevalence of the drug dealing phenomena on TikTok, and have further also served as a guide during analysis and interpretation of the results.

6. RESULTS

The research process started with drug-related search words on the TikTok search bar. These provided strong indications of a drug dealing market on the platform, as various drug promotions appeared on the top of the feed with most relevant and popular videos. Most rewarding search words were those that involved the word “wickr” and as it was typed in, more relatable search words were found under the suggestions below the search bar. By putting “wickr” together with a specific city or location, one could filter out distant drug dealers and only retrieve relevant distances to the drug dealer. During the extensive fieldwork of documentation, screenshot-taking, noting and describing, the search words led me to 116

videos with content that advertised illegal drugs, divided into 43 Sweden-based profiles. The identified drug dealer profiles were operative in large parts of the country, however a majority of the drug dealers centered their drug dealing activity around the big cities of Sweden: Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö.

6.1 Different Types of Drug Dealers: Oriented, Professional, Looser

A common theme during the process of coding the material was the differences among the TikTok drug dealing profiles and characteristics of the drug promotions. Although the majority of the profiles had similar information included in the profile descriptions, some were more ambitiously descriptive than others. While some only used a variety of emojis to represent their drug supply and services, others facilitated the many functions which are provided by TikTok when creating content. While implementing themes based on common factors, I was able to identify three different types of seller profiles: a) the professional drug dealer, b) the oriented drug dealer and c) the loser drug dealer. These demarcations were based on different advertisement skills, such as the time between posting new advertisements, marketing strategy, e.g. the use of emojis and pictures, the choices of hashtags and background music or sounds, the time of activity, the services provided to the buyer, language and the way of interacting with potential buyers.

As TikTok offers creative ways of creating videos as well as live streams and photos and provides the user with free hands of producing, creating skillful advertisements of drugs is dependent on the seller having the ability to partially orient through the creating process that is required in order to publish a post, which may require a level of technical sophistication or expertise on the platform. The loser drug dealer was one who was barely posting or interacting with potential buyers, thus making him kind of a “ghost profile” and not visible to those who demand to buy illegal drugs. The loser drug dealer was also characterized by minimal use of emojis, pictures and hashtags, which adds to the difficulty of finding the profile through the search bar. The information provided in the profile description and advertisement was limited, which may discourage potential buyers from arranging a transaction, since a key feature of choosing a drug dealer is trustworthiness (Bakken et al., 2019:383).

The second identified drug dealer type was the oriented drug dealer, whose reputation is

based on the notion that it is seemingly proficient and thus holds some advertisement- and technical skills. The oriented drug dealer frequently uses emojis to explain what drugs are available and what services may be provided in conjunction with the affair. Unlike the looser drug dealer, the oriented drug dealer is more frequently posting new advertisements to attract the attention of potential buyers while also reminding or updating current followers or loyal customers of new drug supplies, prices or services.

The oriented drug dealer is characterized by its capability to provide potential buyers with somewhat appealing descriptions of drugs, as some even shared live images of the substances. A majority of the oriented drug dealers on TikTok are also including further contact information details in their profile description or in their advertisement post, such as their username on Snapchat or Wickr, making them even more available and easily accessible to new customers. In addition, oriented drug dealers are thus fairly experienced with hashtags, and drug-related terms and slang words were often observed included in the descriptions. Comparatively, the oriented drug dealers were most often in possession of a variety of illegal drugs, while the looser drug dealers only supplied one type of drug.

The professional drug dealer was frequently updating with new drug advertisements, although some were repostings of previously uploaded content. Most of the profiles referred all contact and arrangement of transactions to their Snapchat and Wickr accounts, where additional information is provided to the customer. The professional drug dealer on TikTok was observed more carefully planning the advertisement, from the choice of hashtags to the choice of video or pictures, emoji and background music. These drug dealers were facilitating almost every feature and benefit of TikTok, in an effort to target as many potential buyers as possible. In the process of the data collection, this feature became increasingly significant, as drug dealers used the latest music trends; songs which are trending on TikTok, in an attempt to attract the attention from distinct populations on TikTok. A significant number of profiles did even more ambitious advertisements, similar to real TV commercials, involving “catchy” phrases and high-quality designs with well-formulated descriptions of products and services, as seen in figure 1 below.

Is your bag empty?
Fill me, please!
You can always rely on us to refill your bag!
Great, how do i do it?
Add us on Snapchat!
Perfect, I'll see you there!

Fig. 1. Drug promotion on TikTok.

According to Demant et al. (2019), these kinds of ambitious posts reflect the level of technical and graphical competence of the digital generation and demonstrate professionalism. It is argued that since the competition among drug dealers online is high, drug dealers on social media platforms must take into consideration the competitive accounts and present themselves and their advertisements in such a way that they attract the most attention while they avoid detection (Demant et al., 2019:380).

6.2 Advertisements of Illegal Drugs - Drug Quality and Descriptions of Drugs

A common theme during my observations of illegal drug advertisement is related to how drugs were described and how quality was assured through emojis, images, videos and descriptions. Many drug dealer profiles referred to themselves as a "pharmacy" where access to drugs varied from only supplying cannabis to promotions of various drug types. However, the majority of the drug dealers on TikTok sold multiple drug types, including cannabis, hasch, cocaine and amphetamine. Some profiles were also selling prescription drugs, such as tramadol and xanax. The word “plug” followed by the electrical plug emoji (🔌) or the word “kran” (crane) was used to signal that the profile was dealing drugs.

Most of the drug promotions on TikTok promoted their drug supply through various emojis,

animated images (one drug dealer used Randy from South Park with a bag of marijuana in his hand) or GIFs. Only a few included videos or pictures of their drugs. Drug promotions were most commonly displayed with images of known Swedish or International rap-artists or cultural drug and street-style images, while headlines most commonly featured drug types, prices and references to one-on-one communication platforms where transaction details are discussed. Information regarding drug types and quality of drugs was varying. Some drug dealers included full descriptions of their drug supply along with prices of each drug type in forms of lists, while others directed customers to other messaging platforms for additional information. Drug dealers who promoted drugs in this way often referred to their drug supply as "menus" which involved information regarding drug type, drug quality and prices. Consequently, most drug dealers providing cannabis commonly include specific types of strains in their drug promotions in order for customers to more easily recognize a drug type, but also to make it easier to find information about a specific drug through Google. This type of promotion is illustrated with an example below.

> "Wait dear friend! Top quality hash 🍫 has arrived 'Gorilla Glue', absolutely sick! Oily, easy to crumble when it gets warm. Rating: 11/10! 'Cameleon-Pollen hash', light brown, easy to crumble, top quality: Rating: 10/10. Both are 5 for 5. 'Sticky Orange Weed' 🍃 Really nice buds! Offering nice feelings that makes you relax. Rating: 10/10. 'Pineapple Express', also of extreme quality! Weed provides the effects of feeling energetic and happy. Both are 5 for 5. Active around the clock through Wickr - "username" / Kind Regards 🤗"

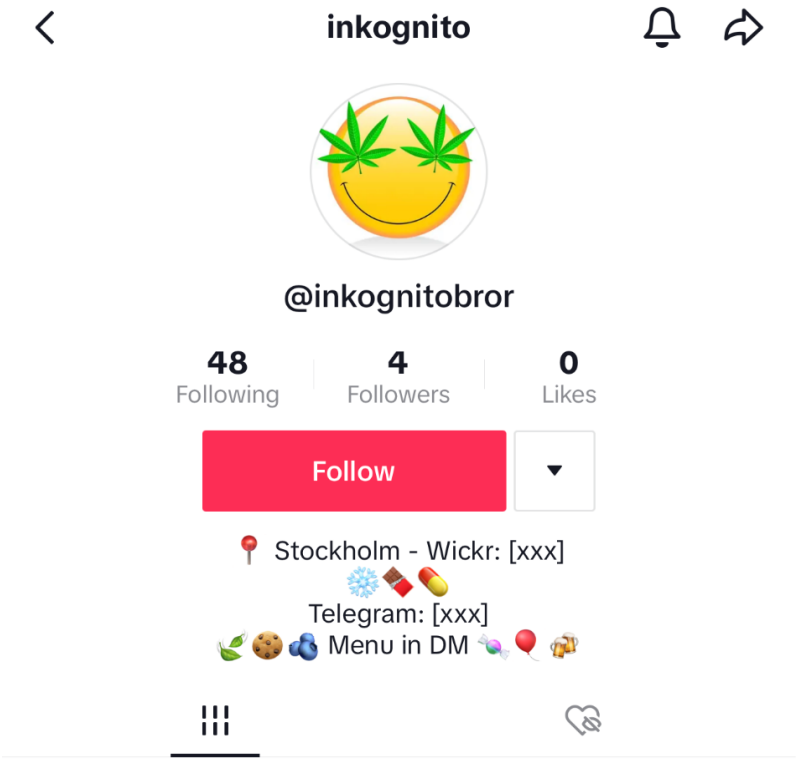

Fig. 2. A common drug dealer profile on TikTok.

Another common theme throughout the coding of advertisements involved drug dealers promoting drugs in relation to its psychological and physical influences, often highlighting the euphoric and uplifting or the calming and relaxing attributes connected to the drug type. The below example presented a list of the drug offers including its effects and prices per gram:

🍀 Critical Haze
🍀 Reviews 9/10
🍀 50% (Indica) 50% (Sativa)
🍀 THC 20%
🍀 Creative / happy 😄 Energizing ⚡
🍀 Euphoria, relaxing 😌 and uplifting 😇
🍀 Helps with anxiety, paranoia, stress, depression, chronic pain, muscle cramps, muscle spasms
🍀 2 grams ~ 2️⃣0️⃣0️⃣ kr
🍀 4 grams ~ 4️⃣0️⃣0️⃣ kr
🍀 6 grams ~ 5️⃣0️⃣0️⃣ kr
🍀 12,5 grams ~ 1️⃣0️⃣0️⃣0️⃣ kr
🍫 LV (Louis Vuitton) Harre / Brunning

- Reviews: 10/10
- (NEW)
- Best in Town
- (Louis Vuitton)
- 1 gram ~ 1000 kr
- 2.5 grams ~ 2000 kr
- 6 grams ~ 5000 kr
- 13 grams ~ 10000 kr
- Wickr: “Username”
- Instagram: “Username”

Additionally, some drug dealers would upload posts requesting their followers which drugs they should "bring" into their drug supply, in an attempt to create a wider customer base as well as meeting the demands of their regular customers. A few drug dealers were also including information in the comment sections. For instance, one drug dealer posted a rap music video and included the drug offer in the comment section: “I have good prices in Stockholm, always ‘honest bits’, so that we can keep our customers”. Other drug dealers had turned off their comment section, making it impossible for users to comment on their posts. Those drug dealing promotion posts that successfully remained available on the platform for a long period of time were full of comments from users requesting drugs in specific locations or cities. These posts seemed to function as marketplaces where customers could locate new drug dealers in their nearest areas.

During the process of coding the data, it was evident that drug dealers had multiple marketing strategies. The observations led me to discover that drug dealers in conjunction with their drug advertisements were promoting their ability to offer lower prices on drugs if the word of the account was spread. Users who reposted or shared drug promotions were offered free drugs in exchange for exposure. One drug dealer used code words for promoting this opportunity: “Share this post and get free snow (cocaine). There is Marabou Chocolate (Hasch), there is snow (cocaine), there is Alvedon, but replace the letters ‘alve’ with ‘trama’ (tramadol)”. Another drug dealer wrote “If you help spread this Wickr account to your friends, you’ll get one gram the next time you buy”. Most often, the drug dealers content where drugs were promoted was also shared to others accounts, since some posts were identified having a number of “sharings” below the “liking” and “saving” options. As an additional marketing strategy, one user was promoting how customers had the opportunity to

get a lottery ticket with the purchase of drugs.

Drug dealers on TikTok are also taking advantage of the comment sections under various posts, but specifically those comment sections that are found under known influencers and famous creators' posts, in Sweden to gain attention from the massive communities that follow these accounts. During the observations of the comments, drug dealers were seen commenting on popular videos referring to various Wickr accounts followed by drug-related emojis and sometimes specific cities or locations, thereby attracting attention to their profiles. This way of promoting drug supply was also brought to the attention of the Swedish Police, which was first to report on the marketing strategy in the Swedish news media (Svenska Dagbladet, 2021).

6.3 Balancing Risks with Motivations - Circumventing the Algorithms

Demant et al. (2019) found that using social media to sell drugs is primarily motivated by the ability to reach a large audience easily (Demant et al., 2019:382). However, this motivation comes with its challenges. In order for drug dealers to be able to continue to operate their drug market on TikTok, it requires some discretion in terms of avoiding using material that may be exposed to search engines which are driven by algorithms and governed by the Community Guidelines on TikTok. For this reason, drug dealers may not be able to advertise their drug supply with the full potential of reaching the right audience. It would thus be easier for drug dealers to advertise and sell their drugs if it were possible to use drug-related words and hashtags in connection with the publication of their posts; weed, cannabis, cocaine, hasch or amphetamine. However, to not risk getting the content removed or in worst case or getting the account suspended from the platform, the drug dealer must delimitate words and actions that are prohibited and rephrase them so that, on the one hand, strangers may be able to locate the desired drug type or drug dealer and comprehend the content, and on the other hand, prevent the content from being too visible and risk it being picked up by search engines.

While observing the drug markets on TikTok, I found that drug dealers use various emojis to symbolize their drug supply, in order to avoid being exposed by algorithms and law enforcement. These findings are in line with what previous research has concluded (Demant et al., 2019:380). Delvin into detail, another discovery deals with how drug dealers market their posts to achieve the desired audience reach in spite of the challenges they face during

this process. In order for the drug sales to reach people outside of the current follower scale, the drug dealer must in some way include popular or trending features (identified by the search engines) such as music, hashtags or filters.

During the course of the fieldwork and the coding process, it was evident that drug dealers used various TikTok features to their advantage for drug sales. Drug dealer profiles seemed to possess rich knowledge about these features as the observations strongly indicated that sellers are well aware of which songs, hashtags and sounds to include in their drug promotions in order for them to gain exposure, while circumventing algorithms. Namely, a few drug dealers had included music/sounds which are trending within an underage user population on TikTok. The majority of drug dealers, however, included famous Swedish hip hop and rap songs, usually ones about crime or drugs, as part of their marketing strategies to attract a specific audience. Minors and youths who were previously not exposed to drugs may now be exposed to drugs as a result of social media drug dealing and the increased technical skills and advanced marketing strategies observed on TikTok.

In regard to hashtags, drug dealers used the most current trending search words on TikTok, such as “#dogsontiktok”, “#catsontiktok” “#loseweight” “#nails” “#morningroutine” - irrelevant and not in any way associated with drugs or the product that they are attempting to sell - but highly searched for, thus meaning it is a desired type of content by many. While observing the drug market on TikTok, it became evident that drug dealers were not only aware of these features, but would also use them to their advantage to gain desired populations and communities on TikTok.

These acts of circumventing the algorithms and adopting technical barriers may be observed as strategies used by drug dealers to reduce the risks of being detected as well as reducing visibility to law enforcement. In light of routine activity theory, drug dealers are locating their drug sales in environments which are discerning the presence of being disturbed, while also facilitating on the features of the routine activities they are enabled through the environment of TikTok. This way of marketing drugs provides the drug dealers with endless ways of relocating and adapting to new environmental settings in cases where previous routines are exposed. The way drug dealers balance risks associated with being detected or exposed to law enforcement with motivations for sales is also illustrated in previous research (Bakken, 2021:66).

6.4 One-On-One Communication, Transaction Details, Delivery Services

All kinds of drug requests and drug dealing transactions are referred to one-on-one communication platforms such as Wickr, Snapchat or Telegram, where additional information such as delivery options or meeting arrangements are provided. Consequently, most deals are conducted on other platforms, as with the encrypted chat tool Wickr, which allows for untraceable communication which is almost impossible for authorities to track. Wickr is also used by Swedish drug dealers on Facebook in order to remain anonymous (Demant et al., 2019:381). The majority of the drug dealing profiles on TikTok had their Wickr or Snapchat account included in their profile descriptions, and it was frequently added to every advertisement post in order to provide easy accessibility to new customers. During the time of observations, a few profiles had created new accounts and therefore referred to their latest created username. In line with previous research, the majority of drug dealers relied on face-to-face transactions and the meetings were often arranged through Wickr, Snapchat or by phone (Demant et al., 2019:380).

Depending on the sellers' location, some profiles also offered delivery by car. As the coding process revealed, a few drug dealers were highlighting their ability to ship packages with the goods through postal-packages if the buyer were located far away. However, most drug dealers included specific cities or locations of their area of drug sale, signaling that the preferable choice of delivery was arranging physical meetings with their customers in those demarcations. Drug dealer profiles on TikTok were often emphasizing their great availability, as they claimed to be active 24/7 through Wickr or Snapchat in every other post. For instance, one drug dealer wrote:

> “Sick weed is in! Stamp: Euroo. 11/10 quality. Available only in Stockholm. Delivery can be solved through Wickr: ‘username’”

Another drug dealer was commonly reposting the delivery service offers:

> “Instagram: ‘username’ Wickr:’ username’. Free home delivery!
> Malmö - Free
> Arlöv - Free
> Lund - Free

The rest of Skåne - Free home delivery with orders over 8 grams”

During my observations I observed a varying willingness to answer questions in the comment sections. When reviewing the comments connected to a post, I discovered that many customers had wonders related to available communication platforms and delivery service options. This was indicated within an open dialogue between a drug dealer and a customer: “Wickr is shutting me down this year so I can’t create an account, any other way?”, in which the drug dealer responded: “Hit me on Telegram” followed by the username. Another user was commenting: “Looking for a Wickr account to buy, can you help me please?”, in which the drug dealer responded “You can buy mine, add my Wickr… [username]”. In addition, these findings indicated that, although the demand for drugs was high, there were certain requirements of customers which needed to be met, as well as challenges concerning communication platforms obtaining drugs in a safe way, which needed solutions in order for the drug exchange to take place. It could also be mentioned that customers were often depending on a solution which is considerably protected, anonymous or safe from law enforcement interference.

7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The emergence of the drug dealing market on TikTok may not have the reputation as this very thing yet, however, as more drug dealers acknowledge the opportunities and facilitating nature that TikTok entails, one may question however the scale of drug dealing activity on the platform will increase with time. As Bachhuber et al. (2017) stated: the proportion of people obtaining drugs via the Internet has been small, but it will almost certainly grow” (Bachhuber et al., 2017:1859). Findings suggest that the TikTok platform enables easy access to illegal drugs.

In addition to this result, I have formulated three assumptions drawn from my observations and analysis of the data. First, from a customer perspective, the market on TikTok should be seen as more insecure, questionable and problematic than what it seems to appear throughout my observations. Comparing results from previous research on social media drug markets, various drug actors describe how the most crucial component in a drug transaction is trust. Trust is a highly valued characteristic among drug actors, as almost all transactions are based

on the relationship between seller and buyer feeling safe in relation to the transaction, as well as the risks involved in dealing (Demant et al., 2019:383). As previous research already concluded, the emergence of social media drug dealing markets has enabled the trade of drugs between strangers which may require new skills of handling risk than what has been required in more familiar drug dealing settings (e.g. cryptomarkets). Since drug dealers on TikTok are not hidden behind encryption, the risk of exposure of their physical identity is way more threatened in this current cyber environment. Depending on which delivery service is discussed, drug actors on TikTok are taking a great risk when completing a deal where their physical identity is prone to exposure, since they risk being physically violated or robbed in conjunction with the exchange (Demant et al., 2019:383).

In comparison with the dark web and other encrypted drug markets online, TikTok is not built with a system that enables the drug dealer or the customer to view any formalized feedback or reviews of customer and drug dealer interface, nor does it provide the buyer with any quality-ratings of the drugs or the effect of abusing them, more than those accounted for by the drug dealer himself. Engaging in this type of drug dealing introduces new potential risks, related to both assurances of product quality and in-person hand-to-hand drug exchanges (Childs et al., 2022:405). Consequently, since there are no references, ratings, or guarantees of safe and secure purchases, it is reasonable to assume that the drug actors who control and participate in the TikTok markets are prone to engage in risky behaviors. A possible explanation behind this may be that customers are all the more inclined to take greater risks when presented with easily accessible drugs which additionally, may be delivered quickly during any time of the day to the customer. Another hypothesis could stem from those findings Oksanen et al. (2021) provided, suggesting that buying drugs on social media is associated with lower self-control, higher psychological distress, excessive gambling behavior and excessive Internet use (Oksanen et al., 2021:29).

Second, TikTok is designed to keep users engaged by displaying content that is believed to be appreciated by the user based on the user's activity on the platform. This whole system relies on algorithms that track every click, search, like and following request to create a personalized feed for each user. Every move the user makes creates a personalized feed of new content to scroll through and engage with. For this reason, the feed may for some users become a tailored menu of illegal drugs. A key function in TikTok is its feature of presenting the user with a personalized feed of videos and live streams, with only content that is related

to the users individual preferences based on previous activity on the platform. If one is interested in funny clips of dogs and happens to interact with such content through likes, TikTok will automatically introduce the user with even more funny clips of dogs. As with this example, the user who may interact with drug-related content will further be introduced to similar content on the platform. The algorithms of TikTok may therefore contribute to and facilitate the interest in and purchase of illegal drugs.

Third, as intensively as search engines, with the help of algorithms, strive to clean the feed from content that is prohibited by the TikTok Guidelines, drug dealers will always find new ways to circumvent the rules and adapt to new settings so that drug dealing activity becomes possible. As a result of technology, digital markets are greatly adaptable, enabling drug dealers to shape their markets in accordance with their drug dealing activity. This phenomena is illustrated throughout the analysis, as drug dealers do not use traditional drug-related terms to advertise and describe their supply, nor do they use such descriptions or hashtags to reach out to potential buyers. Instead, these findings indicate that emojis are the most commonly used way to describe drug supply.

With the advent of social media platforms, drug exchanges can be conducted without the risks normally associated with face-to-face transactions (Childs et al., 2021:404). Drug dealers on TikTok are openly marketing their disposal of drugs through the possibility to create high quality videos which potentially may reach hundreds of thousands of minors in seconds of posting, simply by being reasonably able to navigate the platform and staying current with the latest music and sound trends or hashtags. Consequently, the majority of the marketing strategies that seem most effective are also the ones that are under the greatest threat of exposure from search engines, algorithms and law enforcement working to shut down the drug dealing activity. Therefore, it may seem that the drug dealing profiles that manage to retain a market on TikTok with continuous drug promotions despite these challenges, have significantly been able to circumvent the laws and regulations that work to limit such contect.

Fourth, there are several factors which are supporting the structure of Routine Activity Theory in regard to how drug dealing is made possible in the absence of capable guardianship. As evidence of drug dealing is put into light, one might suggest that the capable guardians against the spread of drug promotions on TikTok are often and clearly absent in

many cases. However, there are reasons to suggest that this might only be true to some degree, as it is more accurate to face that the capable guardians of TikTok in fact are not *capable or efficient enough*. My results highlight the growing issue with social media drug marketing in general, and the emergence of the drug promotions on TikTok in particular, which appears to be just the onset of the negative trend. Drug dealers on TikTok have developed various skills to avoid detection by law enforcement and algorithms used by the platform to depict illegal activity. Without adequate protections in place, the responsibility for monitoring young people's online activity largely falls on parents. As Van der and his colleagues (2021) highlight, I suggest that, to prevent youth from purchasing drugs, parents, schools and other adult authorities should incorporate social media platforms into drug prevention (van der Sanden et al., 2021:1).

The present study recognizes two limitations: First, taking a stealth role as an ethnographer during data collection isn't the most appreciated method of studying collectives online (Hine, 2015:57). However, this role enabled me to capture the drug dealing environment and the drug dealing actors in a way, which may not have been possible as a fully participatory ethnographer in a setting where activities that violate laws and regulations are present. Second, as Demant et al. (2019) already acknowledges, the challenging nature of data collection in an environment designed to deflect methods of detection, might hinder the ethnographer from identifying all evidence of drug dealing activity (Demant et al. 2019:384). Due to this challenge, I suggest that the current data analysis is used to understand the processes and meanings of the experience, rather than a precise estimate of the drug dealing frequency or number of drug dealers.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 - Assessment of Ethical Positions NR 13.

Datum: 2023-02-17 Diarienummer: STUD 2023/772

Projekt:
A Tailored Menu of Drugs: The Advertisement and Sale of Drugs on TikTok
Student:
Nicole Larsson
Utbildning:
Masterprogrammet Kriminologi
Handledare:
Kim Moeller
Föredragande:
Eva Lavant

Etikrådets utlåtande:
Based on the information in the application received, the Ethics Council cannot assess the part of the project that concerns interviews. Nonetheless, students are strongly advised against direct interaction with ongoing criminal activity as it involves risks where the student's safety cannot be guaranteed. Hence, only the part involving a thematic study through a netnographic approach should be performed to achieve the purpose of the study.

The points above should be handled together with the project supervisor.

Eva Lavant
Ledamot i Etikrådet för studentarbeten vid Fakulteten för hälsa och samhälle/Malmö universitet